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# THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

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ANNOUNCEMENT OF FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

ROMANS AND PROVINCIALS IN THE LATE REPUBLIC (*Sanford*)

CORRELATION OF LATIN AND SPANISH (*Vance*)

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

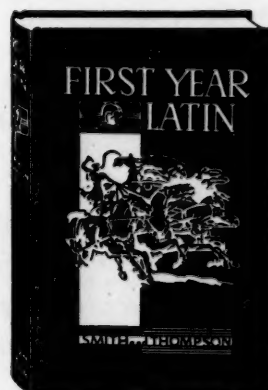
## THE LANGUAGE OF LEADERS

Latin has always been a leader among the studies of culture. Its value as a background for the learned professions of the Church, Medicine, and Law is obvious.

Latin has also been a basic factor in the success of the world's great leaders. Particularly is this true of the English-speaking peoples among whom it is well understood that the masters of English have first mastered Latin.

Enrollments in Latin are today larger than heretofore, though the select fraction of those who study this subject is less than it was when high schools were smaller.

Latin is more esteemed than ever. Little profit is to be gained by listening to those who are unschooled in Latin and who, therefore, recommend less valuable subjects in its place.



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## PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

### FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

### CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, MAY 6 AND 7, 1949

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS: HOTEL LAFAYETTE

The full program of the meeting will be published later in *The Classical Weekly*. Members and friends of the Association who are planning to attend the meeting and to occupy rooms at the Convention Headquarters should make room reservations with the Hotel Lafayette as soon as possible. The room rates per day are: single room with bath, \$4.25 and up; double room with bath, \$7.50 and up; double room with twin beds, \$8.00 and up.

## ROMANS AND PROVINCIALS IN THE LATE REPUBLIC<sup>1</sup>

Some recent studies of Roman provincial administration during the late republic give a more favorable impression of Rome's policies than one gains from Arnold's classic work, written over half a century ago; the contrast is in keeping with our increasing awareness of the complex problems of governing dependent peoples, and of adjusting the delicate balance between domestic politics and external responsibilities. A review of the last two centuries of the republic shows that Roman statecraft evolved constructive and humanitarian principles for the guidance of provincial and foreign affairs, although these principles were too often thwarted by the exigencies of the political scene at Rome, and by the subordination of the interests of the allies to those of ambitious individuals and of pressure groups.

Cicero, our chief authority, is a most inconsistent and a most eloquent witness, whose attacks on the men whom he prosecuted carry more conviction, on first reading, than his attempts to whitewash those whom he defended. The governors whom we know best, aside from Cicero himself, are those who were tried for extortion, among whom there were few completely upright men. Arnold's conclusion that 'a Roman governor was either a wonderful success, or a gigantic failure,'<sup>2</sup> is obviously unsound, as is the statement of a more recent writer that the regular Roman attitude toward the provinces was one of haughty contempt.

Cicero's study of the relative values of fear and love as instruments of control led him to the conclusion that 'No imperial power is so strong that it can long endure under the crushing burden of fear. . . . I would rather,' he confessed, 'dwell on foreign than domestic policies in this connection. However, as long as the empire of the Roman People was maintained by lofty principles, not by injustice, our wars were undertaken to defend either our allies or our sovereignty; their settlements were dictated by mercy or by necessity; the Senate was a haven of refuge for kings, peoples, and nations; moreover, our magistrates and generals put their

whole hope of glory in the just and honorable defence of our provinces and the allies. The result was what could more truly be named a protectorate of the world than an empire. Even before Sulla's time we had gradually begun to diverge from this policy and practice, but since his victory we have altogether abandoned it. For no oppression of our allies could appear wrong any longer, now that such horrible outrages were committed against Roman citizens.' (*De off.* ii. 7. 26-8. 27).

Here we have the characteristic contrast between the good old days before the Gracchan revolution, and the dark years that followed, during which 'the commonwealth was utterly lost,' with Sulla and Julius Caesar as the villains of the piece. Cicero's summary has the faults common to such generalizations, but in it he gave us a notable phrase, *patrocinium orbis terrarum*, for the Roman sovereignty, an antecedent to Vergil's thesis that the chief task of the lords of the world was to make peace habitual. It includes also a salutary reminder that citizens, as well as provincials, were subject to oppression at the hands of unscrupulous men in times of crisis. When Sulla addressed the leading men of Asia at Ephesus, announcing the indemnity exacted for the massacre of 88 B.C., he assured them that Rome would never commit unholy massacres, or unwarranted confiscations of property, or incite slaves to rebellion, or perform any such barbarous deeds (*Appian, Bell. Mith.* 62), a statement that many of his audience must have remembered when they heard thereafter of his proscriptions at Rome.

A factor that supports the concept of a protectorate is the early adoption of the institution of *amicitia* as the legal basis for Rome's relations with states not actually hostile to her. This principle of natural friendship has generally replaced the older theory that Rome anticipated Hobbes' concept of natural enmity between alien states. While the varying status of those who were called 'allies and friends' of Rome, whether or not they were bound by treaty obligations to her, exasperated those Romans who, like Cato, wished everything clearly defined, the flexibility and inherent dignity of the relationship had obvious advantages. The word

*socii*, regularly applied to provincials, sounds less invidious than the modern 'Natives,' though kings as well as commoners were very subordinate allies of the sovereign city. The customary restoration of surrendered states as legal entities, once the act of *deditio* was completed, was consistent with the concept of a protectorate, as was the command generally prefixed to treaties that the surrendered state must 'conserve the majesty of the Roman People,' which, as Cicero pointed out, connoted inferiority but not subjection (*Pro Balbo* 16. 35). The independence thus granted was precarious in fact, whatever it may have been legally. Many technically free communities soon found that, as Professor Larsen has said of the Greeks, they were 'free only to conduct their affairs as Rome desired,'<sup>3</sup> a situation in which the residents of some modern protectorates would sympathize with them. The general acceptance of a late date for the legal definition of provincial soil as the property of the Roman People, which was formerly ascribed to the republic, removes one serious inconsistency from the protectorate theory. Again, the tradition that Rome, since the institution of fetial law, had engaged only in just wars, concluded by equally just terms of peace (*De rep.* ii. 17. 21; *De off.* i. 11. 34), is reflected in Cicero's description of the ideal foreign policy. This principle helped justify to Roman statesmen the expansion of the imperial power, and contributed to the growth of international law as a constructive basis for just dealings with states outside the sphere of the civil law. The assumption of a universal human society, which, though weaker than the ties uniting fellow-citizens of a single state, was legally valid (*De off.* iii. 17, 69) fell short of Alexander's ideal of the brotherhood of man, but foreshadowed the time when Rome would more fully earn the name of *communis patria*.

Cicero frequently reminded his fellow-citizens of their own obligation to conserve the majesty of the Roman People, since imperial glory sprang from justice and the goodwill of their dependents, not from hatred and infamy, and since utility must always yield to justice (*ibid.* iii. 22. 83). He described the objective of the

Optimates as 'peace with dignity' and listed 'good faith, the provinces, the allies, and the praise of the empire' among the foundations of this *otiosa dignitas*, after religion, the magistrates' power, senatorial authority, the laws, the courts, and ancestral traditions, but before the army and the treasury (*Pro Sestio* 45 f.).

Lycortas' speech at the Achaean conference with Appius Claudius Pulcher in 184 gives the seamy side of this 'peace with dignity.' If, he argued, the proclamation of Greek freedom was sincere, the Achaeans had as much right to censure Rome's treatment of Capua as the Romans had to censure their treatment of Sparta. Since, however, the Achaeans had only a specious equality and precarious liberty, subject to Rome's will, they would respect and fear Rome, but less than they feared the gods. The magistrates, Livy tells us, admitted that the Romans could not preserve their dignity by halfway measures, and dared not refuse Appius' request that they avoid the odium of compulsion by voluntary submission to the Senate's demands (*Hist.* xxxix. 37).

Yet the next year brought more Greek embassies to Rome than ever before, to lay before the Senate countless charges against Philip, for, as Polybius said, whenever they were reduced to the last extremity, they would fly to the Romans for protection and entrust themselves and their cities to them (Polybius xviii. 49; Livy xxxix. 46). It would be interesting to know whether many Greeks read the histories of Fabius Pictor, and based their hopes on his exposition of the senatorial program. Polybius' ascription of the rise of the Roman power to natural causes, as an inevitable stage in the historical cycle, may have helped reconcile some Greeks to this precarious freedom. Both Polybius and Pan-aetius contributed to the concept of Rome's destiny as a universal power ruling the inhabited world, and the originally Greek cult of the goddess Roma also fostered the conviction of the divine majesty of the city.

During discussions of the sack of Carthage, some of the Greeks are said to have claimed that the Romans were wise and statesmanlike in destroying a perpetual menace. Others accused



them of being corrupted by their growing power, and foretold the doom of Rome, now that she had forsaken her old policy of accepting offers of surrender. Still others expressed their regret that a nation generally gifted in politics, who prided themselves on waging wars openly and nobly, should have stooped to such deceit and cruelty (Polybius xxxvi. 7-9).

The degree of autonomy possible under the Roman protectorate fell far short of liberty, but it implied a recognition of local laws and institutions which made Rome's sovereignty more palatable than it would otherwise have been. The problem of reconciling liberty and order has not yet been solved. Not all Rome's dependents were agreed on how much liberty they really wanted, or ready to assume the responsibilities that freedom carries with it. Sallust, who attributed the constant struggles for liberty, glory, and power, to an inborn defect of human nature (*Hist.* i, frg. 7), represents Mithridates as writing to Arsaces that 'few men wish liberty, whereas the majority wish just masters' (*Hist.* iv, frg. 69). According to Posidonius, Athenion, in his speech at Athens on behalf of Mithridates, even accused the Romans of fostering anarchy by their failure to decide what form of government they would support in the Greek cities (Athenaeus v. 213-215).

The numerous grants of citizenship to individual provincials by Sulla and Pompey, and the smaller number made by other generals, either as a reward of merit, or as an inducement to special services thereafter, showed that the gulf between citizens and non-citizens was not impassable. Cicero, in his defence of the Spanish Balbus' claim to citizen rights, stated as a general principle that there was no race on earth, whether hostile or friendly to Rome, whose members might not acquire citizenship (*Pro Balbo* 13. 30). No one could enjoy a double franchise, for that would render him subject to conflicting systems of civil laws; consequently a number of philhellenes had renounced their Roman citizenship for that of the Greek city of their choice (*ibid.* 11. 27 f.). But a municipality had no right to prevent its members from accepting the franchise to the sov-

ereign city. The provincial who became a Roman citizen would continue to take an active part in the affairs of his own community, and Cicero's description of the dual ties that bound Cato to Tusculum as his native, and to Rome as his civil *patria* was also applicable to provincials who gained citizenship (*De leg.* ii. 2. 5). Cicero commented somewhat wryly on the provision of the *Lex Servilia*, which rewarded with Roman citizenship provincials who successfully brought suit against senatorial governors (*Pro Balbo* 24. 54). Though we now look on the extension of the franchise throughout Italy as a transitional step toward the general extension of citizenship throughout the empire, Cicero and many of his contemporaries thought the process had gone too far already. He himself, despite his support of grants to deserving individuals, considered Caesar's extension of Latin rights to Sicilians hardly more tolerable than Antony's gift of full citizenship (*Att.* xiv. 12). The equation of the city with the world was still far in the future, yet the provincial friend and ally was a potential, and in some cases an actual citizen.

One difficulty was the Roman conviction of their natural superiority to all other peoples. (Modern scholars who consider this a sign of undue arrogance would do well to order window-panes of unbreakable glass.) They believed that the Roman Empire had been won by *virtus*, not, as the Greeks preferred to think, by fortune alone. Hippocrates' theory that the climate of Greece was most favorable for breeding free men was easily transferred to Italy, and one may conjecture that Italians of alien origin owed their place in the superior race to the benefits of their new environment. The noblest Gaul, Cicero held, could not be compared with the meanest Roman. The western provincials in general were crude and barbarous, and irreligious and faithless withal. Syrians and Jews were races born to servitude. The Athenians, Spartans and Achaeans were the best of the non-Romans, but even they were *Graeculi*, and we could wish that Cicero had not adopted this term. Cicero shared Cato's conviction that the Greeks' words were born on their lips, but those of the Romans in

their hearts. These harsh estimates occur chiefly in speeches on behalf of Roman magistrates whose honesty and justice were insufficient to defend them against charges of corruption without an appeal to popular prejudices, and in the violent attacks on Gabinius and Piso, who had committed the crime of giving provincials a fair hearing, against the interest of the knights (*e.g.*, *Pro Fonteio*, *Pro Flacco*, *In Pisonem*, *De prov. cons.*), but a similar distrust of provincials is shown, in less extreme terms, in Cicero's letters to his brother and to Atticus.

It must have shocked provincial witnesses to hear Cicero remind the jury, in the case of Flaccus, that they were not to judge the acts of Lydians, Mysians, or Phrygians, but of a fellow-citizen, and to listen to a defence based chiefly on the defendant's services to Cicero and the state in 63 B.C., and on the old reputation of his *gens* (*Pro Flacco* 39.98). Though some citizens had approved of the suit against Scipio and his associates in 187 on the ground that civil liberties depended on holding even the most eminent men fully accountable for their actions (Livy xxxviii. 50), Cicero assumed that his contemporaries would judge differently. His indignation at the condemnation of Opimius for the extortion of which he was clearly guilty was expressed in a speech before the mixed jury that heard the case of Plancius in 54, not, as one might have assumed, before a senatorial court (*Pro Plancio* 29.70). Similarly, he applauded the acquittal of Manius Aquilius on the ground of his services to the state during the servile war in Sicily, despite the proofs of his guilt (*Pro Flacco* 39.98). In the prosecution of Verres he had declared that sound courts, honest juries, and conscientious plaintiffs were the only cure for the diseases of the commonwealth (*Div. in Caecil.* 21.70). There is obvious inconsistency between this insistence on official responsibility for the honor and justice of Rome, and his subordination of provincials to citizens, and of the facts of the case on trial to the defendant's services to the state.

This cynical disregard of the claims of justice, in the very court over which Cicero had presided in his praetorship, and which had been insti-

tuted as a defence against official corruption, was due in large measure to the exigencies of Roman politics, and especially to the incidental role that provincial commands played in the average political career, as compared with office-holding and campaigning at Rome. In his defence of Plancius, Cicero tossed aside as of no importance the plaintiff's pride in a good provincial record, with a reminder that 'so much goes on at Rome that no one pays any attention to provincial affairs' (*Pro Plancio* 26.63). Lucullus was a notable exception to the general rule, for the greater part of his active career was spent in the provinces. Despite Sulla's patronage, he paid dearly for his long absence and for his underestimate of equestrian influence in current politics. Most careers were made or lost at Rome, and, in addition, the Roman's strong preference for life in the city, in contrast with what Cicero described as 'the wretched terms of provincial administration' (*Pro Flacco* 35.87) made many men reluctant to assume provincial commands.

To unscrupulous men, however, the opportunities for rapid accumulation of wealth made provincial office a desirable means of securing further advancement at home, or of laying the foundations for future profits by shrewd use of business openings. Cicero would have us believe that this subordination of justice and dignity to profiteering was a phenomenon due to the depravity of the first century, quite unknown in the good old days. It is obvious that the growth of capitalistic activities and of the political power of the knights greatly aggravated the problem, but there is evidence that the governors and their staffs in the second century were already subject to the same temptations, although their profits were smaller.

For example, when Marcus Porcius Cato went to Sardinia as praetor in 198, his justice, financial integrity, frugality and discipline were a welcome relief to men doubly burdened by the extravagance of his predecessors and the exactions of local money-lenders, whom he expelled from the island. Plutarch tells us that the Roman rule 'never inspired its subjects with greater respect or greater affection.'<sup>4</sup> Some

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thirty years later Cato had the record of his administration read in court, and interrupted the clerk after each clause with a command to delete it from the evidence. For the Romans, he said, no longer cared whether an official had used the provincials' money to further his own interest, or commissioned prefects to plunder their homes and families, or appropriated booty for his own use, or collected money for his staff in lieu of wine rations. Cato's campaign against usury reminds us that this abuse began long before Roman citizens took to the money-lender's trade, and continued to be a problem in the city as well as in the provinces throughout the republican period. Cato expected other officials also to exercise strict justice in their administration. He opposed Minucius Thermus' claims to a triumph, on the ground of his shameful cruelty to free provincials. If the charge was well founded it was impolitic of the Senate to include Minucius in the commission sent to settle Asiatic affairs in the following year. In 167 Cato sponsored the proposal to liberate Macedonia and Illyria, in order to prove to the world that Rome did not enslave free men, but liberated subjects, and in the same year he supported the Rhodian claims to restoration of their previous status as allies and friends, for he ascribed their interest in Perseus to their natural preference for liberty, rather than slavery to the sole power of Rome. He reminded his countrymen that they themselves were too proud to censure pride in others. He obviously thought that Roman virtue was as much threatened by pride and injustice toward non-Romans as by the corrupting influence of Greek culture.

The first recorded provincial suit for extortion was brought before the Senate in 171 by envoys from Spain who complained of the avarice and insolence of recent Roman officials. The leading statesmen of the time, Cato, Scipio, and Aemilius Paullus, were among the patrons assigned to aid the provincials. One defendant was acquitted in his third hearing, but two others chose exile to prevent having their misdeeds exposed in court, and measures were taken to prevent further abuses (Livy lxiii. 2). Twenty-two years later a standing court for such cases was established by the *Lex Calpurnia de repetun-*

*dis*, the first of a long series of laws that demonstrate both the basic sense of responsibility for sound provincial administration, and the incapacity of laws and courts to secure that end. As Cicero often pointed out, these laws were intended to protect the provincials from exploitation by Roman magistrates, but lack of supervision, poor choice of officials, conflicting political interests, and the miscarriage of justice in some decision of the standing courts seriously weakened this citadel of political rights (*De off. ii. 21.75; Div. in Caecil. 5*).

Gaius Gracchus, like Cato, prided himself on his provincial record; as quaestor in Sardinia, he had served the people's interest, not his own, and had maintained strict Roman standards in his personal life and his fiscal policy (*FOR II. 132-3*). In his propaganda for transfer of the courts to the knights, he censured the senatorial juries for acquitting three notoriously guilty members of their order, one of whom, Manius Aquilius, was set free despite popular indignation at his acceptance of bribes from Asiatic kings (Appian, *B.C. i. 22*). Though Gracchus himself was convinced of the necessity for sound provincial administration, the effects of his program, especially because of the increased political power and financial opportunities of the knights, are too familiar to require discussion here. We may note, however, that a second Manius Aquilius was tried by an equestrian jury for extortion in Sicily, and was acquitted, as his namesake had been by their senatorial predecessors, on the ground of his services to the state in the Sicilian slave war. Yet the Senate chose him for the delicate diplomatic task of restoring Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes to their thrones, in spite of the unsavory reputation which his family had won in Asia. His ambitious bungling precipitated the tragic crisis of 88, at the very time when Rome, weakened by the Social War, and suffering from the consequent financial depression, was least able to cope with Mithridates. The appropriate tortures inflicted on Aquilius for his pride and avarice testified to provincial resentment of such an unworthy representative of the Roman majesty. The same period, however, produced two eminent models of Roman integrity and justice. Mucius Scaevola, as pro-



consul of Asia in 94, earned provincial gratitude by restoring to the cities their own laws and courts, and by handing over extortionate *publicani* to their victims for trial. Thus, we are told, his prudence and virtue extinguished for the time being the inveterate hatred of the Roman Empire (Diodorus xxxvii, frg. 5). He himself was protected by his personal and family reputation; the knights could only wreak their vengeance on his deputy, Rutilius Rufus, whose brothers had unsuccessfully supported the prosecution of the elder Aquilius. During the massacre of 88, when the residents of Mytilene delivered Aquilius to Mithridates' men, they protected Rutilius, who chose thereafter to live as a citizen of Smyrna. Yet Cicero applauded the acquittal of Aquilius almost as heartily as he deplored the condemnation of Rutilius.

Even if the verdicts in these trials had been reversed, it would have been difficult to curb the popular enthusiasm for the incendiary propaganda of Mithridates, who promised freedom from taxation, and backed up his promises with a strong army. When four years of this freedom had proved far more costly than Roman rule, Sulla delegated to Lucullus the task of restoring order in the liberated cities of Asia, and apportioning among them the sums due for the indemnity and arrears of tribute. Lucullus' fairness and justice were appreciated. There was good reason for the inscriptions that honor him as 'savior, benefactor, and constitutional reformer' (e.g., *IGR* III. 1191). Forty years later Cicero gave Lucullus full credit for the stability of Asia (*Acad. Priora* ii. 1.3). But, though the large cash payment exacted by Sulla was necessarily paid in the first instance from local sources, Roman capitalists participated in subsequent refinancing operations for the sake of the profits from heavy interest charges which increased the original debt to astronomical proportions. The animosities engendered by the massacre and the war increased the cruelty with which their agents exacted payment from individuals and communities, which the officials apparently did little to curb. Sulla had restored the senatorial juries in 81, but the decade of senatorial control of the courts was a black pe-

riod in provincial administration, marked by the excesses of Dolabella, Antonius, and Verres. When Lucullus was at last free, in 71, to cope with the financial problems of Asia, his settlement, which enabled the cities to clear their indebtedness in four years, and to regain a measure of order and security, won him their genuine confidence and goodwill. Cicero commended him for safeguarding both the welfare of the allies and the Roman tribute (*Manil.* 8.20), but the knights were utterly alienated. The pattern of Lucullus' settlement was similar to that employed in Thessaly by Appius Claudius Pulcher a hundred years earlier; it was soon copied by Caesar to relieve Spain from the burdens of the Sertorian indemnity.

While Lucullus was reestablishing an orderly regime in Asia, the passage of the Aurelian Law at Rome was furthered by the exposure of Verres' scandalous misgovernment in Sicily, and by Cicero's reminders to the people of the moral obligations of their power, and of the odium engendered by its abuse. The mixed juries instituted by this law were still dominated by domestic politics rather than provincial interests, they still illustrated the venality of the age, and the undue influence of brilliant oratory, but their record and those of the governors in the remaining years before the second Civil War show a clearer sense of responsibility for the vast territories under Rome's control. The Cornelian Laws of 67, however, which forbade Roman citizens to lend money in the provinces without special license from the Comitia, had little effect, and the worst abuses were due to excessive rates of interest. The most notorious cases originated outside the provinces, with loans to allied kings to finance their bribery of influential Romans, an old abuse that reached phenomenal proportions in the cases of Ptolemy and Ariobarzanes. The profits expected from provincial loans even tempted some men to borrow money at home for a quick turnover abroad; their gains would have been much reduced if more men and cities had been willing to live within their means.

In this period Cicero pilloried Aulus Gabinius and Lucius Calpurnius Piso as 'traffickers in provinces, selling the honor and dignity of Rome'



by their oppression of citizens and allies and their general depravity (*Post red. in sen.* 4.10). Gabinius, for all his faults, had a sound understanding of Syrian problems, and did much to relieve them by organizing local synods, lowering interest rates, and shielding the provincials from the exactions of Roman capitalists, a point which Cicero used against him.<sup>5</sup> Some modern scholars, taking Cicero's attacks at their face value, bracket Piso with Verres as an outstanding example of misgovernment. Yet Piso was a conservative man of simple tastes, whose worst fault in his administration of Macedonia seems to have been that he prevented Roman citizens from fleecing their Greek allies (*in Pisonem* 49.96). Cicero himself later praised him in terms utterly at variance with his earlier invectives (*Att.* viii. 13.1). A papyrus fragment from the 'villa of Piso' at Herculaneum dedicates to the 'Roman proconsul setting forth for Cilicia' a dialogue between philosophers and statesmen, with the advice that he 'follow the precepts of philosophers and politicians.' This may have been Philodemus's gentle revenge for past insults to his philosophy and to his patron.<sup>6</sup>

In his letter to Quintus on the latter's propraetorship in Asia, and in his account of his own administration in Cilicia, Cicero sincerely tried to reconcile his conviction of the paramount importance of those good men, the knights, with the ideal dignity and justice of the Roman administration. Taking Scaevola as his model, he restored to the Greek cities of his province their own laws and court procedures. He reduced his expenses and those of his staff below the legal allowance, and relieved the cities of the indebtedness piled up by his 'tigerish' predecessor's misrule. He was affable and accessible to the provincials, and was more gratified by their compliments than seems consistent with his warnings to Quintus on this score. His chief problems were the slackness and corruption of the local magistrates, and the recurrent difficulties of rendering justice to the allies without forfeiting the goodwill of the knights. He could not, like Cato the Elder, drive money-lenders out of his province, and he would not deal with them as severely and tactlessly as the younger Cato did,

whose strict justice he admired and envied, though he considered it dangerously impolitic. But his administration refutes his own picture of the utter perversion of the Roman protectorate in the last years of the republic.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at the Ancient History Section of the American Historical Association in Cleveland, December 29, 1947.

<sup>2</sup> W. T. Arnold, *The Roman System of Provincial Administration* (Oxford, 1914), p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. O. Larsen, 'Was Greece Free between 196 and 148 B.C.?' *C.P.* XXX (1936), 109.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *Cato Maior*, 6; cf. Livy xxxii. 27. The rest of this paragraph is based on the fragments of Cato's speeches in *FOR* I, ed. Malcovati, especially 168-9 and 191-9.

<sup>5</sup> E. M. Sanford, 'The Career of Aulus Gabinius,' *TAPA*, lxx (1939), 64-92.

<sup>6</sup> Philippon, s.v. 'Philodemus' in *PWRE*, col. 2475. I owe this reference to Mr. Hubert Howe. For an appraisal of Piso's character, see J. I. M. Tait, *Philodemus' Influence on the Latin Poets* (Bryn Mawr College, 1941).

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## CORRELATION OF LATIN AND SPANISH

In the study of any language there are two distinct approaches: the conversational and the grammatical. May I define the former as the method used by the infant when he learns to express his desires by pure imitation of sounds which he has heard, with no thought as to why he is expressing himself that way? The grammatical method implies the study of a rule or principle followed by a conscious reproduction of that rule in oral or written thought. At best, the latter is a tedious and laborious method, but it is the only one practicable for the teaching of Latin, since none of our pupils could possibly have had the privilege of toddling about at the heels of Cicero or of growing up in a home where Latin was the household language. The grammatical method is very likely to be the one used by most American teachers in the Spanish class also, because the average American child is of high-school age before he begins the study of a second language. Therefore, he has long since passed the age when imitation is easy,

fluent, and unquestioned. Since he needs, and often asks for, the rules of grammar, much time and effort will be saved in Spanish if he has taken Latin first. As most schools recommend for the academic pupil, Latin in ninth and tenth grades, with a modern language in eleventh and twelfth, but also permit commercial students to enroll for Spanish with no previous Latin, I shall treat my subject from the standpoint of the Spanish teacher who faces a class composed of both groups.

Let us create a concrete picture of this class. Here on the right sits Julius, who has had two years of Latin. On the left, sits Simon, who has had no Latin. He is sure that Latin is a dead language and very difficult. But he has heard that Spanish is easy, and so he has wandered in. Besides, he needs a few credits. Now that we have the sheep separated from the goats, let us proceed with the class. Of course, the first day is fun; it's all conversation: 'Good morning.' 'How are you?' 'Very well, thanks.' 'How's your mother?', etc., etc. It is easy, even for Simon. The next day he knows all the expressions, although his pronunciation needs some touching-up.

After a few days of conversation with ready-made phrases, we open our books at the first vocabulary. *La muchacha*, f., *el muchacho*, m., *la pluma*, f., *el lapiz*, m. 'Oh they use articles in Spanish,' Julius remarks. 'What's an article?' Simon asks. Hands are raised on the right and that matter is quickly cleared up. 'Of course "girl" is feminine, but how could a pen be feminine?' protests Simon. The right wing rises to the occasion with an explanation of grammatical gender versus natural gender. Simon tries to understand, but it sounds strange to him.

Vocabularies have a habit of occurring frequently in any language text book. Simon's poor brain is reeling with so many words. He is not accustomed to memorizing. 'How can I remember so many?' he asks. Julius is having no trouble because he associates so many Spanish words with Latin words. But it will be of little help to tell Simon the corresponding Latin words. If Julius talks too much about Latin roots, Simon may turn green with envy of so much knowledge, or he may develop an inferi-

ority complex, or he may become bored, and even remind us that this is not a Latin class. We must help Simon find English derivatives to associate with his Spanish words and tuck a Latin word in now and then.

'Why is Spanish so much like Latin, when I haven't had any Latin?' Simon protests one day. 'Why isn't it exactly like Latin? That would be fine for me,' chuckles Julius.

I can answer both those questions by giving you a brief history of the Spanish language. As you know, the peninsula occupied by Spain and Portugal is called the Iberian Peninsula. It is so named for the Iberians, a prehistoric, short, dark race of very proud, individualistic people, who are thought to have come from Africa by a land route that long ago disappeared into the sea. The Iberian tongue, related to Egyptian and Saharan languages, has left some traces upon modern Spanish, although only a few words can be identified: e.g., *vega*, 'a plain'; *nava*, 'a flat valley'; and *páramo*, 'a deserted upland'. About 600 B.C. came an invasion of tall blonde people called Celts. They settled in Portugal and Galicia, where their blood is still dominant, although traces of their language are uncertain. I shall mention the Greeks next, although they enter into the making of the Spanish language at several points. It is thought that some Greeks entered Spain along with the Basques. The date of that immigration? No one knows. *Quien sabe?* the Spainard would say. However, it is known that some Greeks from Rhodes came to Catalonia in 900 or 800 B.C. and founded Rhodia. No conquest was attempted by them. In the centuries which we often span by the expression 'Old Testament Times' extensive commerce was carried on with Spain by Palestine and Phoenicia. The Tarshish of the Bible is really Spain. Jeremiah writes about the silver of Tarshish. Ezekiel refers to merchants of Tarshish. The writers of Kings and of Chronicles describe the fleets of Solomon, Hiram, Jehoshaphat, and Ahaziah, which brought gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. Those ships were doubtless manned by motley crews of Hebrews, Greeks, Phoenicians, and Syrians. Whatever products they took to Spain, we can be sure that they also took ele-

ments of language, customs, and culture with them. Many centuries later, during the Renaissance, learned Greek found its way to Spain. It was in that period that El Greco went to Spain and has ever since been known as a Spanish artist. Probably in that period, the Spaniards adopted into their language such words as *idioma*, *programa*, *anécdota*, *archivo*, *átomo*, *catástrofe*, *categoría*, *iglesia*, and many others. The Spaniard adopts Greek words generously, but we are impressed by his inability, or disinclination, to adopt certain sound patterns common to the Greek language. We miss the theta or th sound in such words as *simpático*, *teatro*, *atleta*, *autor*, *Dorotea*, *anatema*. The letter *f* is an adequate, but unexpected substitute for the *ph* in such words as *diftongo*, *fósforo*, *filosfía*, *farmacia*, *geografía*. And we just cannot recognize George as the farmer that he was originally, when the Spaniard spells his name J-o-r-g-e. Again, the Spanish rejected the Greek sound of chi; they give ch only the soft sound. Therefore, they spell orchestra *o-r-q-u-e-s-t-r-a*. When we see a basket ball game advertised in Mexico, with *qu* replacing the *k*, we realize that the Spaniards did not adopt the kappa. *Qu* does double duty for *ch* (hard) and for *k*.

The Phoenicians invaded Spain as early as 1100 B.C. They are the Canaanites of the Bible. Their largest settlement was at Cadiz. They opened gold, silver, and iron mines. Many Phoenician coins have been found. Since these people are well known as the disseminators of the alphabet, it is said that Spanish history began after the Phoenician invasion.

Carthage, a colony of Phoenicia, soon outgrew the mother country. Hamilcar, father of Hannibal, upon losing Sicily and Sardinia to Rome, turned his attention to Spanish conquests. Cartagena was established and named for the home town. Rome was too busy to think much about the Spanish hinterland. It was not until Hannibal attacked the camp at Saguntum that Rome awakened to Spain's importance and sent an army under Scipio to defeat the Carthaginians at Cartagena in 205 B. C.

From that date until 476 A.D. Rome ruled Spain. During those 600 years the influence of the young, vigorous, conquering Rome was tre-

mendous in Spain. Three out of five words in Spanish are corrupted or vulgar Latin, as it was spoken by the Roman legionnaires. 'Corrupted' is a well-chosen word, for I can well imagine that the atrocities committed upon the body and person of Classical Latin by those Roman soldiers are equaled only by the mutilation of the English language that is being carried to the far-flung corners of the earth today by the Brooklynites, Hill Billies, Jitter Bugs, and What-Have-You that are naturally found in any citizen army. Roman engineers built roads and aqueducts. Camps grew into towns. Roman law established its organized system. Each of these activities brought its own Latin vocabulary into the Spanish language. Many Roman soldiers must have married Spanish señoritas, just as our boys are taking Australian, French, and British brides. Later Spain furnished four emperors for the Eternal City: Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Theodosius. In the Christian era St. James is said to have brought the new religion to Spain and to be buried in Santiago, which town is named for him. The converts to Christianity tended to adopt the language of the church.

Then, in 476 A.D., the lights went out all over civilized Europe. The Barbarian Invasions were on. Goths, Vandals, Alans, Suevi, and Visigoths overran Spain. Their languages were crude and unexpressive. In time, they adopted Latin, or shall we say Spanish? Doubtless some of the peculiar sound patterns of modern Spanish represent the valiant struggles of these northern barbarians to master Ciceronian Latin. But they left a marked influence upon the Spanish language because, as Edward Everett Hale said, 'Spanish is a language of Roman roots clothed in Gothic or Northern grammar.'

In A.D. 711 came Spain's last invasion. The Moors moved in to stay until 1492. They brought with them a highly developed vocabulary of war, agriculture, and jurisprudence. Arabic became the fashionable language in certain circles, and converts to Mohammedanism adopted the Moslem language also. *Al* is the definite article in Arabic; therefore, many words appearing in Spanish can be traced back to the Moors by their initial *al*; e.g., *álgebra*, *algodón*,



*alhaja, almohada, alfombra, almuerzo, alcoba, alcalde, aldea, etc.*

Besides being affected by these various invaders, Spanish has also been influenced by the French, indirectly because both are Romanic languages descended from the common parent Latin, and directly because of the close proximity of the two countries. At times Spain and France were ruled by the same king. In the Middle Ages jugglers and troubadours traveled back and forth. These entertainers used two dialects: one poetic and literary, the other colloquial. At one time the Provençal dialect was fashionable in Spain. To this day Barcelona shows a great French influence in its daily habits, buildings, and language.

I almost forgot about Julius and Simon. Let us see whether they are asleep or awake.

'That was interesting,' says Julius. 'Now I know why Spanish is not exactly like Latin.'

'And I know why it is very much like Latin,' Simon says. 'But I never dreamed that a language got pushed around so much. Did other people ever quit "influencing" Spanish and let it settle down and be itself?'

A language never becomes static as long as it is a spoken vehicle of thought. And Spanish is spoken by 103,000,000 persons today, 80,000,000 of whom live in the Western Hemisphere. It is still a growing, fluid stream. But certain Spanish scholars helped to establish the Castilian dialect as the national language of Spain. A Benedictine monk, Gonzalo de Berceo, who lived from 1200 to 1265, wrote the first poetry in Castilian. In 1236 St. Fernando gave the people of Cordova a code of laws in the same dialect. Alfonso XI ordered that documents no longer be written in Latin but in Castilian. He translated the Bible, treatises on astronomy, music, philosophy, and law into Spanish. The Rhymed Chronicle of the Cid belongs to this same period. Alfonso 'Found Castilian a doubtful dialect and left it a majestic, rich, and noble national language, with a vigorous literature of its own,' Martin Hume states in his book entitled *The Spanish People*.

But we must get back to our textbook. It is time that we learned the present tense of the

verb *tener*, 'to have.' As soon as Julius sees the singular and plural columns, he recognizes the endings as personal endings and supplies the translation as an automatic carry-over from Latin. This is all a mystery to Simon. So, while I explain to him the basic concepts of person and number, common to all languages, the right bloc can catch up on some lost sleep. But Julius wakes up with a start when he notices two different forms for second person, one marked 'familiar' and the other 'formal.' Yes, the Spaniards, the most hospitable and courteous race in the world, still retain much of the pride and individuality of the Iberians. They have an 'intimate' verb form to single out their close friends and a 'polite' form to keep strangers at a comfortable distance. It reminds me of Mexico hospitably opening her national doors to every deposed dictator of the universe, but each night fastening her house doors with bolts, bars, and keys never seen anywhere else.

Shortly after we master the present tense of *tener*, we are confronted by a long list of idioms based upon that verb. 'To be hungry, thirsty, cold, warm, sleepy, tired, right, wrong, to be ten years old'—in all these idioms the verb is not 'to be' but 'to have'. Surely Latin was never like this Julius protests. But I remind him that we studied Classical Latin, in which these idioms were not likely to occur. If he will look up vulgar or colloquial Latin, he will find that *tolerare famem* parallels *tener hambre*. And he may recall that the idiom *natus est decem annos* expresses the same idea as *tener diez años*. Julius is not surprised to find that the verbs *ser* and *ir* are irregular, for so were *sum* and *eo* in Latin. When he hears that the imperfect tense expresses continuous or habitual action, it is an old story to him. *Ba* as the sign of the imperfect tense, *era, eras, etc.*, as the imperfect of *ser*, and *fui* as preterite of *ser*, all these are like old friends to Julius.

'Didn't Spanish verbs ever do anything original? Did they always copy from Latin verbs?' Simon asks. 'Oh yes, they have shown quite a bit of originality', I assure him. They have developed the progressive tenses, which I believe are more specific and not adequately cov-

ered by the six Latin tenses. The timing seems much more exact when we say, 'The baby is sleeping' than when we make the mere generalization, 'The baby sleeps.' Also in the compound tenses the auxiliary *haber* in Spanish seems more appropriate than *sum* in Latin. Both Julius and Simon will be happy to know how easily Spanish expresses passive voice by placing *se* before the verb. Also the Spanish attaches *se* to certain verbs, and presto, they have a different meaning; e.g., *valer*, 'to be worth' and *valerse*, 'to make use of'; *ir*, 'to go', and *irse* 'to go away'; *acomodar*, 'to accommodate', and *acomodarse*, 'to put up with'; *hacer*, 'to do or make', and *hacerse*, 'to become'; *mostrar*, 'to show', and *mostrarse*, 'to pretend.' Again both Simon and Julius will be delighted to know that mastery of the future tense can be postponed a long time by the simple device of using the present tense of *ir* with the desired infinitive. It is much easier to say *Ella va a hablar* than to learn the future tense of *hablar*, and it denotes a more immediate action than the somewhat indefinite future. Likewise the perfect tense can be postponed by substituting *acabar de*. But *Acaba de estudiar la leccion* implies action very recently completed. So we must not be too hasty in thinking that these 'short cuts' are indications of laziness on the part of the Spaniard.

'Well, anyhow, I'm always thankful for a few short cuts,' Simon says. 'But why must we use all these extra words (looking at a corrected paper): *el libro de Maria*? Isn't *Marias libro* just as good? That's what we say in English.' No, Simon, that is not what we say in English. What we say is 'M-a-r-i-a's book.' 'Oh what difference does an apostrophe make? I never bother with them,' Simon boasts. At this point Julius explains the concept of possessive case in English and genitive case in Latin, and I tell them both that since there is no apostrophe or genitive ending in Spanish, the only way the Spaniard can say *Mary's book* is by saying *the book of Mary*. I devoutly hope that the English teacher will find apostrophes in their proper places on Simon's papers from now on.

'Gee Whiz, my paper looks like a Christmas tree with all those red marks,' Simon remarked one day to Julius. Why does she have all these words underlined in this sentence, *The newspapers are interesting*? I made *periódicos* plural and the verb plural.'

'Yes, but you didn't make the article and the adjective plural. Your sentence should read *Los periódicos son interesantes*, Julius proudly informs him. 'And always look out for the gender; articles and adjectives must agree with the nouns which they modify in gender and number.'

'I get it. Thanks, pal,' Simon replies.

Speaking of Spanish ingenuity, they have a rather clever device of making the same adjective convey two different meanings merely by changing its position; e. g., *caro amigo* means 'a dear friend,' but *traje caro* means 'an expensive suit'; *gran hombre* means 'a great man' but *hombre grande* means 'a large man'; *nuevo traje* means 'another suit' but *traje nuevo* means 'a new suit'; *pobre niño* means 'a pitiful child,' but *niño pobre* means 'a poor child,' i.e., not rich.

It is really like Old Home Week for Julius when we study Spanish pronouns, for he meets so many old friends slightly disguised. There are *el*, *ella*, and *el que* from *ille*; *este* from *iste*; *ese* from *ipse*; *aquel* from *ecce* plus *cuius*; *cuantos* is now spelled with *cu* instead of *qu*; *me*, *te*, *tu* and *nos* have not changed a bit. *Conmigo*, *contigo*, and *consigo* look strangely familiar. Oh yes, they are really *mecum*, *tecum*, and *secum* in Latin. Adverbs are rather hard to recognize. The long *e* has been lengthened to *-mente*; and more prepositional phrases have become adverbs, e.g., *hac hora* now masquerades as *shora*, *hac noche* as *anoché*, and *per hoc* as *pero*.

About this time Simon's ego is rather low. 'I should have taken Latin last year. I'll never get anywhere in Spanish,' he sighs.

'Cheer up, I'll teach you some Latin right now,' Julius consoles him. 'This word *bueno* has the diphthong *ue* in the root. Well, it came from the Latin word *bonus*. I've noticed that in a great many Spanish words the original *o* has changed to *ue*. Now, if you get the idea,

you can tell me the Latin original for these words: *nuevo, puerta, suelo, dueño, cuerpo, huerta, fuerte* and *muerte*. Try it. See if you can.'

'I think I catch on. *Novus, porta, solum, dominus, corpus, hortus, fortia, mors*. Are they right?' Simon asks eagerly.

'Sure they are. You're really good. Now here is another thing I've noticed. *Tierra* comes from the Latin *terra*. You see the radical *e* in Latin becomes *ie* in Spanish. Now tell me the Latin words for *ciento viento, hierba, sierra, tiempo*, and *miel*.'

'That's easy. *Centum, ventus, herba, serra, tempus*, and *mel*.'

'Fine, you catch on quickly, Simon. Incidentally, I forgot to say that these words mean the same in Latin and Spanish. Now here is a double assignment for you. The word *voz* has *voces* for its plural and it comes from a Latin word ending in *x*. What is the Latin word?'

'*Vox*, of course. That's a cinch,' Simon declares.

'Good. Now tell me the Spanish plurals and Latin originals of *luz, feliz*, and *cruz*.'

'Plurals are *luces, felices*, and *cruces*. Latin singulars must be *lux, felix*, and *crux*,' Simon proudly announces.

The two boys might have gone on discussing such changes as *p* to *b* in *lupus* and *lobo*; *t* to *d*, as in *vita* and *vida*; *qu* to *gu*, as in *aqua* and *agua*; *t* to *c*, as in *natio* and *nacion*; *c* to *g*, as in *lacrima* and *lágrima*; *au* to *o*, as in *aurum* and *oro*; final *-tas* to *-dad*, as in *veritas* and *verdad*. But it was time for a verb test. The list of Spanish verbs is mimeographed: *querer, hacer, decir, creer, abrir, vivir, romper, correr, pedir, sentir, dormir, venir, poner, dar, vender, pensar, esperar, escribir, estudiar*, and *saber*. Julius and his friends are told to write the meanings in Latin, while Simon and his friends write them in English. The two groups exchange papers, which are soon marked. Each group contributed what it was able to, and each heard the work of the other.

Although Simon admired Julius' great knowledge, he was happy when he could think of a question which the Latin 'expert' could not an-

swer. One day he asked, 'Why do the Spaniards use a tilde? Did the Romans use it too?' Poor Julius could think of nothing in Latin that resembled a tilde. Upon looking up the word tilde in Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary*, they found that the tilde is placed over an *n* to give it a palatal nasal sound; that the tilde is used in Portuguese for the nasalization of a vowel or a diphthong; that it is used in African and Oceanic languages to give a guttural sound to the *n*, somewhat like *ng*. While they were reading in the dictionary, the teacher wrote on the board a list of Spanish words which require the tilde: *señor, año, sueño, baño, España, daño, dueño, enseñar*, and *otoño*. She asked Julius to list to the left of the column the Latin equivalents and Simon to list the English meanings at the right. The class studied the spelling of the Latin and Spanish words and came to the conclusion that the tilde, besides nasalizing the *n*, usually represents an omitted letter.

Another day Simon 'stumped' Julius with the question: 'Why do some Spanish words begin with *ll*?' Julius tried the same method of listing on the board words beginning with *ll*: *lleno, llama, llorar, llano, lluvia*. While Julius supplied the Latin equivalents, Simon listed the English. Then it was not hard to see that the initial *l* takes the place of *p* or *f* in these words.

In speaking of the Roman occupation of Spain, we mentioned roads, towns, and aqueducts still in use today. However, Julius, Simon, and their friends may never go to Spain. It is probable, however, that many of them will go to Mexico. Will they see any Classical influences there? Many of the buildings and monuments are as Grecian as those of Athens: the Palace of Fine Arts (*El Palacio de Bellas Artes*) with its glass dome showing Apollo and the Muses; the Chamber of Deputies with its Corinthian columns and carved pediment; the lovely fountain and statue of Diana (the people call her *La Fecundadora* or *La Cazadora*); the monument to Juarez with its Doric columns; 21 arches still remain on Chapultepec Avenue, of the 904-arch aqueduct begun in 1620 and finished in 1790; Latin and Greek symbols and Latin mottoes occur frequently on the 28 offi-



cial state seals preserved on the walls of the Education Building. In the Museum of Natural History one realizes the convenience of Latin as an international language. Everyone goes to see the Basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe. If the Latin student has had a bit of Greek, he will know that the word *basilica* has come down from the Greek, meaning 'I reign'. Certainly the Virgin of Guadalupe does reign in the heart of every Mexican. A Spanish cemetery is full of interest, but one should know Greek and Latin, as well as Spanish, in order to get the most out of this visit. It is called Panteon, from the Pantheon in Rome, a compound of *pan* and *theos* (all the gods). The initials INRI occur on many tombstones; they stand for Jesus Nazareth (indecl.), Rex Judaeorum. The letters R.I.P. (*requiescat in pace*) seen on so many American gravestones are replaced by E.P.D. (*En paz descansa*). In some inscriptions the place and date of birth are preceded by the Greek letter alpha, and the place and date of death are preceded by the Greek letter omega. Then, too, in every typical Spanish hotel or house the student will find a replica of the Greek peristyle or the Roman atrium: the fountain, shrubbery, seats, statuary are all there under the open sky and the cubacula, or bedrooms, open off this central garden. The Spanish patio is the center of the domestic tranquility, just as the peristyle was in the ancient Mediterranean lands. The bull fights, still so popular, are reminiscent of the Roman gladiatorial combats, but some historians say that the Spanish pastime is older than the Romans. Pietas (*la piedad*) shows up very strongly in the Mexican's loyalty to church, love of country, and obedience to his parents. Latin and Spanish students should realize how closely our American neighbors are bound by ties of race, religion, and language to Spain and to Rome. Therefore, our students should be able to point the way to a more unselfish, patient, and sympathetic policy in Western Hemisphere relations.

Now to the right wing of this imaginary class I say 'Valeté', and to the left wing 'Adiós', and to all of you 'Goodbye'.

## NOTE

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